Honigmann, E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

toward the excreta. The strongest attitudes of disgust are directed toward the feces, which are regarded as "dirty" and repulsive. 863

The development of childhood is accompanied by a definite change in the care which the infant has been accustomed to receive from its mother. This aspect of the parent-child relationship, whose characteristics will now be described, may be defined as withdrawing from the child his principal source of affective gratification. The pattern is not to be confused with direct rejection; the child continues to be loved passively and cared for in the family. What occurs is an emotional withdrawal of the mother, who in infancy was the chief source of affective stimulation. The mother becomes less responsive to the child's demands, less eager to her attention, more remote and disinterested in her appreciation. Stated positively, the mother becomes more concerned with herself than with the child, or, if there is now a younger sibling, more preoccupied with the infant than with the lap baby. 856 573

If the emotional rejection is correlated with the birth of a sibling it often has its initiation at about eighteen months, when the child is beginning to toddle. However, children often nurse until they are two years old, so that generally the mother does not begin to withdraw in her affective relationship until the youngster is between two and three. The process is both a gradual and an unconsciously motivated one. Its behavioral manifestations are many. For example, the child's crying is no longer responded to with the spontaneous attention that this behavior earned in infancy. "Don't cry for nothing!" the mother sharply scolds, as she continues with her work. Fretting for attention, which begins to appear in the two year old, is less tolerated, and the mother reprimands the child for clinging to her garments or body. For long journeys, children continue to be packed up to four or five years of age but around camp frivolful demands to be carried and cuddled go ignored. Stella Wiley was exceedingly passive with two year old Laura. One time Laura was observed to crawl into her mother's lap. Stella accepted the child without any demonstration of interest. On another occasion Laura was clinging to her mother's skirts, whining and crying "mama." Stella continued placidly smoking and talking to her sisters, as though unaware of any disturbance. Comfort is often withheld even if the child is hurt or frightened. Four year old Maria Long had been vaccinated and came out of the museum crying. She ran to her grandmother, Mrs. Isaac. The latter made no direct effort to comfort her. For a few moments the girl sat quietly alongside the woman. Then she began to cry more and throw her head into Mrs. Isaac's lap. Thoroughly the latter put her hand close to the child's head. Then she was distracted and turned to scold a noisy boy who was playing too close. Maria continued to sob loudly but Mrs. Isaac remained passive and unsympathetic. 865 840 793

Mildred Long is in many respects one of the warmest women in the community.* While waiting for a ride at the Highway crossing her adopted daughter, Ann Wiley, started to fall asleep. She leaned her head on Mildred's arm. The latter shoved the child's head away saying: "Oh, go away you." Ann then leaned her head on a bridge girder and dozed. By the time a child is five or six years old, a clearly defined pattern may be observed in which comfort is no longer sought from the mother. The child has learned to endure pain by itself. Older children are sometimes seen weeping in solitude and sucking the lips two or three 866 793

* She was recently regarded by her neighbors, Harry Long, whose case she endeured for many years. See Harry Long's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 197-203.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1963-1965) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

The father, who has never been as demonstrative to the mother in his affectional handling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness were unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Mann once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1947 Lorenz was his constant companion, trudging him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachments between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood. While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters over this relationship and in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes [illegible]. Only ten per cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmur to him constantly, and devotedly lick flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child little opportunity for subdominance. However, sometimes the visits of relatives and friends temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the rapturous with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, which averages in children is slight and, as we shall see, where it appears is more often practical and educative.

If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is clearly regarded as the more important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The chief aim of punishment is to make the child ashamed to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

1: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

gradual, but by six the child is already able to cover ten or more miles with these travel sticks. Children begin to feel themselves at about three years of age.

No effort is made to give a child sex instruction, and since people rarely discuss sexual topics, children are limited in the information which they may acquire about this subject. Sexual prohibitions are explained obliquely and with many euphemisms, so that the prevailing attitude toward sex as something highly personal and restricted cannot fail to be transmitted. On the other hand, some awareness of sexality may be gained when a child listens to the mixed company of adolescents and unmarried young people, who engage in sexual teasing and sometimes make threats or references without regard for the presence of youngsters. Since parents and children sleep in the same dwelling room, it is likely that children are early exposed to sexual activities, the meaning of which is not explained. When adults are menstruating there is also a relaxation of sexual taboos from which youngsters are not protected. A sense of modesty begins to be inculcated in the child when he is three or four years old, and children of that age will not urinate or defecate in the presence of other people. Here the mother also wears a child of any indecent exposure in a public place.

Some effort is indirectly or directly made to inculcate indifference to pain, fatigue, and cold. Young children of five and six are often required to walk up to fifteen miles with parents who are bound for a trap line or hunting place. Minor ailments are seldom regarded as an excuse for delaying such journeys. In winter some parents directly advise an older child not to try to keep his hands warm all the time but to get used to having the fingers "half frozen." In that way, it is explained, they will become better able to withstand cold. Children are also warned of the dangers present in the environment when the temperature is very low; for example they are taught that at such temperatures the bare fingers or mouth must never touch metal.

With regard to formal education, none of the parents are ready to send their children to summer resorts school and, at least in early years, try to insist on such attendance. Schooling is not valued for opportunities which it opens for the child, but rather for the advantages it offers parents. Commenting on his grandson's education, Rivers Joe expressed this attitude when he said: "My boss that kid . . . I want him. Learn something, be good to me that way." The school at Lower Post follows a formally prepared program of instruction. Counting and reading occupy a functional place in the curriculum, which also attempts to teach religion, values of cleanliness and hard work, and even includes the teaching of French and English idioms.

In spite the reasons, in conjunction with the Indian Affairs Branch, are eight children ranging from five to twelve years old to a Catholic boarding school at Grouard, Alberta, two miles south of Lower Post. There they will receive two years of education. Hereafter such outside education has been limited to one or two youths going to the mission boarding school at Lejac, on the Pacific Coast.* The value of such short term education is, of course, limited. Richard Dry and Harry Long, who were both educated in boarding schools, are capable of simple writing with poor spelling. In Harry, education also contributed to some dissatisfaction with the limited amenities of Lower Post.

Many young children, from four to eight, express extremely little curiosity or quer-

* The school was built with Government funds and is taught by nuns. See Carroll, The Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1915.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1963-1965) 949 ND12 Nahane ND12

§57 dam, and sometimes inflict blows without cause. Horses are also plagued and teased by
§21 boys whenever the opportunity presents itself. The sport leads to punishment when it results in complaints to parents from the animals' owners, who fear that the teasing is making the horses too shy. Older boys, from ten into adolescence, take keen delight in riding bareback along the river road and dancing their mounts into a cluster of girls.

§57 From five to six boys often make crude rolling tys out of the cover of a vacuum tin
§29 The disc is nailed to a willow or poplar stick and it nail bent where it emerges from the other side (Plate 10, a). The child runs pushing the wheel before him. Youngsters try to cut this brush with axes, explaining that they are cutting trail. In winter children, ranging in age from five to late adolescence, enjoy sliding downstreambanks to the frozen river on toboggans or small sleighs made by older uncles or parentsOnly the bitterest cold interrupts this sport. By seven or eight, boys make their own slingshots, to use in shooting at trees and birds. Boys of twelve or sometimes seek testing their strength picking up heavy weights and trying to lift the nailed boards of a table top. This is also the age for target practicing with an rifle or rifles, although hunting for small game has already begun.

§57 In contrast to boys, girls generally play less rigorously and more quietly. Some exam-
§31 ples of girls' activities have already been given. In relation the girl's fondness for representa-
§32 tions and decorations are more to mentioned. Most girls have copybooks of crayon colored drawings, many of them conventional floral patterns such as are embroidered on moccasins. Sometimes these scenes from illustrated magazines are copied. With a stick, a girl draws extensive curvilinear designs on the level snow of frozen lake. Another popular activity of older girls is to sew masks out of paper bags. These are bizarrely outlined and colored with lipstick and charcoal, and worn to visit neighboringcamps or cabins, whose occupants the children try to frighten.

§57 Boys of five and six often make themselves noisome by teasing older girls. Such teasing leads to pushing and wrestling in which the older girls strength often succeeds in defeating her tormentor. Teasing between the sexes commences puberty (when it gives place to sexual provocation), and is usually conducted in a spirit of fun rather than with any intent of serious aggression.

§24 Following the period of infancy and, as we will see, arising partly out of the emotional
[illegible] to which the young child is subjected, thisdevelops in children a sense of youthful responsibility, independence, and self-reliance so as to noticeably lacking among children in western society. Many attempts of parents to sustain these character traits [illegible] encouragements in these directions [illegible]
People rarely condescend to children. There is little [illegible] he will never catch anything by fishing
even a youngster of four or five may be told that he [illegible] also not designed to encourage depend-
with an unbent safety pin. Parental attitudes are also [illegible] the parents for all the necessities of life,
[illegible] trends. Although the child is dependent on the p[illegible] [illegible] in order to reaffirm their dominance
[illegible] is rare for the latter to stress this dependence [illegible] [illegible] dependence on the child, the need for
[illegible] in the socialization process. Often parents stress their [illegible] [illegible] role in the future. In carrying out
his help in the present and the importance of his [illegible] [illegible] loss of dignity or self-respect, such as
parents' wishes, children are not exposed to suffering [illegible] [illegible] of the socialization process. The independ-
[illegible] were ridicule and humiliation features of the [illegible] [illegible] him with concrete demands to do
[illegible] of the young child is not hastened by confronting

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

things according to the detailed specifications of adults; rather the child is given an opportunity to work out for himself the details of many cultural tasks. The responsibility accorded to a twelve year old was vividly demonstrated in Lower Post when five children, ranging from seven to twelve, climbed into a boat to cross the Liard River. The oldest boy could not start the outboard motor and the vessel began to drift down the swift current. He gave orders to his companions, and four children seized the oars, two on each side, and in that way they crossed. §66

Correlated with the child's early development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility is the fact that children, especially girls, are not long exempt from making economic contributions to the family. It must be realized, however, that in a society where only relatively brief periods of intense labor are regarded as necessary and in which duties are undertaken leisurely, without compulsion, there remains abundant free time which children may claim for themselves. The Kaska girl, like her mother, is not a household drudge and the economic obligations of children do not restrain either sex from play or from social interaction with agemates. §66 §67

Adolescence

The period from puberty to marriage is a relatively short one for the Kaska girl and only slightly longer for the boy. It is a time which marks the full growth of the independence for which young people have been prepared since early childhood. No social recognition marks the transition to puberty in the boy or girl. §82

Menarche is handled so privately by a girl's mother that sometimes not even the father is aware that his daughter has reached physical maturity. Segregation of menstruants has only recently disappeared.* Apart from the fact that some men refrain from sexual intercourse during catamenia, there are practically no disabilities restricting girls' behavior at this time. Since women are reluctant to speak of menstruation, even to other women, the subject was not a suitable one for obtaining detailed information. According to Paulette Donnelly, no absorbent is worn to catch the menstrual flow. Observation suggests that younger women often change from slacks to dresses when the flow is in progress. §81 §84

For the girl puberty is accompanied by few major changes in her economic role. She has been using a small rifle for a year or two and has already been given the task of running her mother's rabbit lines. With her mother or sister she has started trapping and earning money from fur that came into her traps. The pubescent girl is generally an accomplished sewer, able to make dresses or moccasins, and has sufficiently observed the processing of moose-[illegible] hood to be more or less fully trained herself. In a word, she is as adult in her experience as her physiological capacities permit. Beginning with puberty a mild avoidance relationship, phrased as shyness, begins to develop between many girls and their fathers. This persists even after the girl is married. "Used to be Anna like my heart," Old Man said. "Now she grow up I wouldn't talk to her. Injun like that." §115

The economic role of the boy has not been as fully developed as the girl's; that is, unlike his sister, he has not been given as many opportunities to learn his socially expected roles

* For information regarding what must have been one of the last cases of puberty segregation see Dorothy Pinney's autobiographical sketch below, pp. 340–345.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

important results of these patterns are the development of deference, egocentricity, and flexibility.

Deference is directly learned from the injunctions of parents warning children against aggression but is also indirectly assimilated in the absence of a frustrating and authoritarian oedipal situation. Following the child's emotional rejection, no new blocks or frustrations are set in the path of the developing ego, although it cannot be denied that the personality continues to carry the memory of this trauma whose anxieties continue to interfere with the richest development of ego functions. Kaska parents, therefore, do not demand submission and self-abnegation which in an authoritarian climate may undermine self-esteem and engender hostility.* In the absence of such instigations to hostility, the positive lessons of parents against aggression can take a firm hold. This learning, it must be pointed out, further takes place in a personality whose emotional expressiveness, because of the emotionally isolating tendencies of the parents, is not being strongly stimulated. Positive injunctions to deference are therefore unsupported by alien forces or labile emotionality. The picture may be characterized as one of introversive isolation, and it is in such a restrictive setting that the tendencies of egocentricity, emotional isolation, and deference become intensified. The nonauthoritarian parents influence the adoption of a religious view lacking a stern, authoritarian, vindictive deity such as might be traced back to a harsh parental image.

The previously achieved degree of ego tonicity is maintained by the fact that shame and ridicule are not used as disciplinary measures. In the absence of a strongly inculcated sense of duty and obedience, the child, to a considerable extent, decides his own course of behavior against the interpreted standards of his group. This does not imply failure to teach the child what is expected of him. The emphasis in such teaching, however, is to preserve the child's initiative, an effect that is further aided by the absence of constant adult watchfulness, supervision, or overprotection. The Kaska child finds this freedom to develop responsibility and independence congenial, perceiving the value of these attitudes as defenses against the traumatic effects of emotional rejection and regressive dependence. He gradually drops the overt forms of a compulsive search for love and is better off than he would be in a society that not only patterned a withdrawal of affection but also prevented the development of egocentric attitudes. The expressed fear lest a child be "pleased" too much (that is, lest the child be spoiled) may be understood as a desire to avoid inordinate permissiveness. Apparently it is not easy for permissiveness to be carried to excesses. On the other hand, it must be recognized that some parents exercise closer supervision and stricter discipline than is generally approved of.

[illegible] cultural routines for himself have consequences not only in further preventing the formation of a strong superego (based on the parental image) but in encouraging resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. They also make any idea of submission distasteful to later life. Such encouragement would be of little avail without the good infantile care which originally prepared the ego to exercise forms of active mastery. Early security for resourcefulness, in providing the emotional readiness to invent problem solutions, plays a large role in developing the

* See Dennis, Self-Esteem and Self-Inventory [illegible]; Schaller, Goals and Values of Man [illegible]; Levy, Pleasure in a Disease [illegible].

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

her usual long dress and donned a knee-length garment specifically designed for such a time. She also padded her breech cloth with moss to absorb the blood. In the event that in following a traveling party she came across the scene of a moose kill, blue and red paint applied across her cheeks in horizontal lines was supposed to prevent her from seeing the animal's blood. Always the menstruant carefully avoided stepping across snowshoes, bows, or arrows. If her camp traveled by water she followed in her own canoe. A man avoided the camp where his wife stayed, fearing that close contact with the menstrual blood would cause his legs to become sore and thus render him incapable of hunting or performing other work. A menstruating wife who struck her husband's trail while he was on a war party impelled him seriously. Hence such a woman did not move around when her husband was away fighting. Sexual intercourse with a menstruant caused a man to pass blood in his urine so that he would sicken and die. Despite this belief boys seized on the easy accessibility of girls in seclusion who, in turn, did not always resist their advances. When they became ill the youths might confess such an offense.[*]

Dease River Kaska. Even before a boy reached puberty he began to participate in exercises designed to toughen him and induce resistance to cold. Stripped to the skin, boys plunged into icy water. Upon emerging they were whipped on the upper arms by fathers or grandfathers using willow switches. A boy did not cry out or flinch under this treatment, which continued until he became adult. The informant lauded the effectiveness of these induction customs, explaining that because of them hunters could sleep outdoors in winter without a robe to protect them from the cold.[*]

Upon reaching menarche the Dease River girl retired to a camp located some distance from the family dwelling. Here she was surrounded by a circular enclosure made by planting willows in the ground and enclosing an area three feet in diameter. In winter a six-foot high spruce bark conical shelter provided the menstruant with a hut. Explaining segregation, an informant said that it prevented the death of the girl's brother. During her seclusion the girl covered herself with a sleeveless robe of fully tanned caribou skin fashioned with a hood that extended nearly a foot in front of her

[*] Among the Fort Nelson people, "when a girl first comes to the age of puberty she was made to go every about a quarter of a mile from the main camp and camp alone in a skin tent. She was allowed to cook nothing. Food was sent to a female from her father's camp and no male was allowed to see her or pass close where she was stopping as it he did it was supposed to bring him bad luck either by sickness or hunting. She wore a mask over her face which she took whenever she went out of her tent. If [illegible] one or two of the other females traveled with her and they put green branches across every track that crossed their trail when the track came on a trail no matter where it went or no matter what the track was they had to shoot it off before the girl could pass. . . . After this, whenever she had her menstrualion, whether she was married or not, she had to camp alone for at least four days, but did not have to wear a mask or put branches across any track she might cross in travelling." Petitot, Unpublished manuscript (1910), 9.

[*] Among the Tahltan, which men who wished to harden themselves repeatedly whipped each other's backs with willow switches. Plunging into ice mountains and ice water was a common exercise. [illegible] "The Indians of Canada [illegible] 271) "Puberty ceremonials appear to be rather strongly developed," says Teit for the Tahltan, adding that "a whipping custom was prevalent. . . ." Teit, The Tahltan (Manuscript Work [illegible]), 485.